

Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

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C O N F I D E N T I A L JOHANNESBURG 1466

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, SF

SUBJECT: ASSESSMENTS OF SOWETO NUMBER THREE

1. USIS DIRECTOR JACOBSEN AND I CANVASSED OPINIONS OF NUMBER OF BLACK RESIDENTS OF SOWETO AUGUST 28 ABOUT ROLE OF ZULU HOSTELLERS IN TOWNSHIP CLASHES DURING WEEK PAST, AND ALL SAID THEIR FIRM ESTIMATE WAS THAT SAG POLICE HAD ORGANIZED IMPI TO KILL STUDENT ACTIVISTS. ONE (WILBY BAKWA) SAID HE SAW POLICE ESCORT DELIVERY TRUCKS TO MZIMHLOPE HOSTEL TO DISTRIBUTE BREAD (OTHERS SAID BANTU BEER, TOO). ANOTHER (LEONARD MOSALA) SAID THAT WHEN WORD OF POLICE INTENTION WAS SPREAD, HE EVACUATED HIS FAMILY TO CENTER TOWN JOHANNESBURG. I BELIEVE ZULU IMPI WAS ORGANIZED, BUT WENT BEYOND LCMITS POLICE HAD PRESCRIBED. MOST SIGNIFICANT IS THAT AT TIME WHEN ALL OUTDOOR GATHERINGS WDRE PRO-SCRIBED AND ANY OTHER GROUP WAS DISPERSED FORCIBLY BY POLICE, ZULU IMPI OF 1500 WAS NOT ONLY NOT FIRED ON BY POLICE, BUT WAS GIVEN PROTECTION AND PROVIDED "HIPPO" (ARMED PERSONNEL CARRIER) ESCORT TO RESIDENTIAL SITES WHERE STUDENTS HAD BEEN ACTIVE. ONE OBSERVER (ZUKO TOFILE) SAID HE SAW ZULO HOSTEL GROUP PROCEED
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DOWN STREET WITH ONE "HIPPO" IN ADVANCE AND ONE IN REAR.

2. CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI ADMITTED AS MUCH IN HIS STATEMENT TO ZULU HOSTELLERS AUGUST 27: "I HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT ZULUS HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RAMPAGING PLUNDER AND DEATHS THAT HAVE OCCURED. DON'T ALLOW YOURSELVES TO BE USED BY THOSE WHO ARE NOT BLACKS TO MAKE YOU FIGHT AND KILL EACH OTHER."

3. IN SUBSEQUENT PRESS CONFERENCE AUGUST 28, BUTHELEZI SAID IT APPEARED THE POLICE HAD NOT ONLY ENCOURAGED SOWETO HOSTEL DWELLERS, BUT ALSO AIDED AND ABETTED THEM. HE SAID HE HAD HEARD THAT POLICE TRANSPORTED PEOPLE TO VARIOUS POINTS IN RESIDENTIAL AREAS OF SOWETO TO ENABLE THEM TO RETALIATE AGAINST STUDENTS. "THERE ARE ALLEGATIONS THAT THE POLICE SAID TO PEOPLE WHO RAN TO THEM FOR PROTECTION THAT THEY MUST HAVE A TASTE OF THEIR BLACK POWER. THE FLIPPANT MANNER IN WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER AND HIS GOVERNMENT APPEAR TO HAVE TREATED THIS WHOLE TRAGEDY SEEMS TO HAVE CREATED CHASMS BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE, WHICH NO CONCESSIONS CAN BRIDGE. THE WHOLE WHITE POPULATION WILL, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, BE ANSWERABLE FOR THE SINS THAT ARE COMMITTED IN THEIR NAME BY THOSE THEY HAVE ELECTED TO DETERMINE NOT ONLY THEIR DESTINY BUT ALSO OURS." HE SAID POLICE ACTIONS MADE IT ESSENTIAL THAT THEY BE WITHDRAWN FROM THE TOWNSHIP.

4. MOSALA (DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, UBC SOWETO) TOLD ME ROLE OF HOMELAND LEADERS LIKE BUTHELEZI WAS NOT HELPFUL TO TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS WHO DUCKED WHOLE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID OR SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AND WERE DETERMINED PURSUE ONLY URBAN IDENTITY IN MULTI-RACIAL CONTEXT. HE SAID BUTHELEZI'S ADDRESSING ONLY ZULU HOSTELLERS WAS INDICATIVE OF HIS TRIBAL APPROACH, DESPITE RHETRIC ABOUT NEED FOR BLACK UNITY. AT SAME TIME, MOSALA SAID IT WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPRUDENT OR DANGEROUS FOR BUTHELEZI TO ATTEMPT TO ADDRESS OTHER SOWETO RESIDENTS, WHOSE BITTERNESS TOWARD ZULU ROLE IS DEEP AND LASTING. HE ADDED THAT SOWETO RESIDENTS ARE MORE CONFIRMED THAN EVER THAT THERE IS NO PLACE IN SOWETO FOR HOSTELS FOR MIGRANT WORKERS, WHO HAVE NO STAKE IN SETTLED COMMUNITY, AND WHO SHOULD BE RESETTLED IN OFFICE OR FACTORY COMPOUNDS. HE SAID HE

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COULD CONFIRM RUMORS THAT ZULU HOSTELLERS HAD RAPED AND KIDNAPPED TOWNSHIP WOMEN, INCLUDING SOME VERY YOUNG GIRLS.

5. MOSALA REGRETTEED THAT EVENTS OF PAST WEEK HAD SERVED FURTHER TO DISCREDIT UBC, SINCE CHAIRMAN MAKHAYA HAD BEEN WIDELY QUOTED (ACCURATELY, HE THOUGHT) AS SAYING "STUDENT TROUBLEMAKERS SHOULD BE KILLED." HE BELIEVED IN REPORT THAT

MAKHAYA WAS IN COLLUSION WITH POLICE, ARRANGED AT MEETING IN MAKHAYA'S HOME AUGUST 22 WHEN ONLY MEMBERS OF HIS PARTY IN UBC, NOT OTHER PARTY REPRESENTATIVES, WERE PRESENT. HE WAS NOT SURPRISED THAT MAKHAYA HAD REMOVED HIS FAMILY AND FURNITURE FROM HIS HOME TO SAFER QUARTERS OUTSIDE SOWETO.

6. MOSALA SAID HE BELIEVED COMMITTEE OF THIRTY (INCLUDING FIVE UB MEMBERS) WAS STILL MOST REPRESENTATIVE GROUP JUSTICE MINISTER KRUGER WOULD EXPECT TO MEET (KRUGER WAS QUOTED AUGUST 28 AS SAYING HE INTENDED TO DISCUSS GRIEVANCES WITH SOWETO LEADERS WITHIN WEEK). MOSALA SAID DR. MANAS BUTHELEZI, PRESIDENT OF BLACK PARENTS ASSOCIATION AND ONLY OFFICER OF THAT GROUP NOT YET DETAINED, REPRESENTED VERY FEW AND WAS NOT PRIVY TO OPERATIONS OF WORK BOYCOTT. HE CLAIMED BUTHELEZI'S RECENT PROMINENCE WAS PRODUCT OF PRESS INVENTION, NOT FACTS.

7. WHEN ASKED ABOUT CURRENT RUMOR (TOLD ME BY MAYOR SKLAAR AUGUST 27) THAT ONE-DAY STRIKE WILL BE CALLED SEPT 1 AND BLACKS ASKED TO MURDER PRIVATE WHITE CITIZENS, NONE OF GROUP (MOSALA, BAKWA, MAKUBIRE, KHUMALO, NOR KAMBULE HAD ANY CORROBORATION.

8. MOSALA SAID MOMENTUM OF WORK BOYCOTT'S SUCCESS HAD TO BE MAINTAINED. HIS GROUP (COMMITTEE OF THIRTY) WILL PRESS HARD FOR EARLY ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHEME TO PERMIT INDEFINITE LEASEHOLDS OF HOUSES IN URBAN TOWNSHIPS. HE THOUGHT WHITE INDUSTRIALISTS WERE WORRIED ENOUGH ABOUT MAINTAINING PEACE TO SUPPLY FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO SCHEME (E.G., BY LENDING EMPLOYEES DOWN- PAYMENT DEPOSITS). MOST IMMINENT CONCERN HE HAD WAS INTELLIGENCE THAT SAG PLANNED TO CLOSE TO BLACKS ONLY MULTIRACIAL MEDICAL SCHOOL (UNIVERSITY OF NATAL), WHICH CONFIDENTIAL

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HE THOUGHT WOULD PROVOKE COUNTRY-WIDE STORM.
JOHNSON

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